1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

"On the following day, early in the afternoon, we arrived at the house where the feast was to take place. Having given in good time the necessary signal with the cow's horn we entered the house where the usual greeting ceremonies were exchanged. It was incumbent on Don Dionysio to explain who I was, what the object of my visit, and to ask permission for us to be present at the approaching great feast. The Indians of course are just as disinclined to receive uninvited guests at their feasts as are civilized people, particularly as they always fear evil supernatural influences from strangers. The fact that the host Shakaëma not only received us in a friendly way but even gave us permission to stay in the house the whole time the feast lasted, was due, partly to the eloquence of my companion but perhaps still more to the presents I gave him and the other members of the family. Shakaëma himself got a nice machete (forest-knife), and each of his wives a collar of beads, needles, thread, and small round mirrors being distributed among the other members of the family. Shakaëma was quite pleased and declared that he had in fact known that a party of strangers would arrive, for he had taken natéma some days ago and seen us in a dream. Shakaëma was a man of about fifty-five or sixty years old, a professional warrior and sorcerer, who in fact enjoyed a bad reputation among his neighbours, and was greatly feared by his many enemies anong other Jibaro tribes. With his three full-grown sons, who also lived in the house, and a party of other Indians from among his kinsmen, he had two years before made

war upon a tribe living on the Copataza. The attack had been successful in so far as a head had been captured, and this happy incident had to be celebrated with a feast. When an attack has been successfully carried out, the victor par excellence is the warrior who has cut off the head of the enemy killed. This happy lot had fallen to one of Shakaëma's sons, a youth of 18 or 20 years, who was consequently the principal person at the feast. As is [60] the rule in similar cases, the young man was in the dress of a penitent, wore only his loin-cloth and no ornament or facial paintings and had his long hair hanging loose down the back. Similarly he had to diet himself strictly.

While we were conversing with Shakaëma and his son about the coming feast, the women of the house, that is to say, Shakaëma's two wives, two of his daughters and one daughter-in-law, were mixing the manioc substance in clay vessels partly filled with water, and handing this favourite beer of the Indians round to the guests in the house. My companions from Macas appreciated it almost as much as did the Indians themselves, but for my own part I only took a draught from the vessel offered me and return it again to my hostess. My moderation caused my hosts some displeasure, but I diverted their attention from this topic by showing them some of the things I had brought with me. Many of these as usual awakened the curiosity and fear of the Indians. My medicine-bottles for instance seemd [sic] so mysterious to some of the women and children that when I uncorked one of them they were terrified, believing that an iguańchi (evil spirit)

would rise from it. When I parted a piece of linen to pay for an object I had bought, the Indians wondered whether I was spreading germs of disease with it. 'And look at that strange black box with the round glass and the bright irons', a woman exclaimed. 'They say that with that box he catches the souls of people, and then they will die. Take care and do not go too near it; who knows what he brings with him? Why has he come here?'

The mysterious box which 'catches the souls of people' was of course my photographic camera. It is a superstition which I have found among all South American Indians who have not yet come into contact with civilization. The first idea occurring to the primitive Indian mind seems to be that something comes out from the mysterious box when it functions, with the consequence that the person towards whom it is directed may die on the spot. Still I usually succeeded in overcoming the Indian fear of the camera, but one had always to be careful. Shortly after my arrival at Shakaema's house I made my host pose before my camera holding the tsantsa, the principal object of the coming feast, in his hand; a nice forest knife which I presented him had put an end to his hesitation. The photograph was taken, but when I turned round to enter the house, I found one of his sons standing on the threshold with a rifle in his hand, ready to shoot me if something should happen to his father. [61]

The many and complicated ceremonies performed at the great victory-feast of the

Jibaro Indians will be described in detail later on. For the moment I shall only relate a few incidents observed by me during my visit among the head-hunters, and certain experiences which in their way throw light upon the character of the savage Jibaro Indians. It is needless to say that there could hardly be a more convenient opportunity of getting an insight into the social life of an independent Indian tribe than at a great feast, where numerous guests were present and where the peculiar 'etiquette' customary on such occasions among the savage Indians was strictly observed.

The preparations for a victory-feast are exceptionally great, beginning as early as some two years before the feast proper is celebrated. The two or three last weeks preceding the feast, however, the Indians are particularly busy, the men and the women performing each their share of the work according to the strict division of labour prevailing among the Indians. Above all the women are occupied in carrying home big loads of manioc from the fields for the purpose of brewing the large quantities of manioc-beer which are necessary. During these days Indians from the neighbourhood are continually arriving to look at the preparations and to inquire about particulars concerning the coming feast, and each of them must be harangued by some one of the hosts and entertained with manioc-beer, which is offered them by the hostesses of the house and their daughters. The victor himself again, pays frequent visits to the neighbouring houses inviting his friends to the feasts, and now and then returns to report.

1: Karsten--59-70
116, 796, 727

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-5

Having been allowed to be present at the feast, I had placed my field-bed at one of the big pillars in the middle of the house. Since, as I found later on, the chief dance during the feast was performed every night round the central pillars of the house, I had to spend my nights in the middle of the dancing Indians and consequently could hardly think of sleeping. The Indians, it should be understood, start to dance as soon as darkness sets in and continue until dawn, or about five o'clock, and they accompany their dance by constant chanting and shouting. Since the main feast lasted for six days and nights, it will be easily understood that participating in an Indian scalp-feast is really a feat of strength and endurance. The first night I had no rest at all; the ghastly dance, saturated with mystery and performed amid a dreadful noise, impressed me too much and, besides, there were many interesting things to watch and note down. The following night it was about the same. But the [62] third night I decided to sleep, put cotton wool in my ears, and gave some of it to my companions also. Tired to the utmost I really succeeded in sleeping a few hours in spite of the noisy dance going on around me. Still at five o'clock in the morning when I awoke some of the women went on dancing and chanting their monotonous óa...óa--óa-á...aó, as they had done all the night. I could not even notice that they were hoarse, which greatly struck me. At six o'clock the whole party, both men and women, rushed down to the river and had a bathe, and with this the night's ceremony was over--to begin again in the following

evening.

From the point view of my studies of Indian customs of course my sojourn in Shakaëma's house was extremely fruitful. During the two weeks our visit lasted I filled more pages in my note-book than otherwise I usually did among the Jibaros during months. But apart from this, my stay among Indians engaged in celebrating this savage feast was so trying that I needed all my strength of will to hold out. It is true that I did not witness such excesses in drunkenness as I had expected. The mestizos of Macas had told me that in their feasts the Jibaro Indians drink their natives [sic] beers excessively and that in their drunken condition they frequently engage in fights with one another with the result that even manslaughter sometimes takes place. There is some truth in these assertions, at least in so far that manioc-beer is really consumed in enormous quantities, being the most important entertainment at the Indian feasts. Although quarrels and even fights may occasionally ensue, such incidents are rare--unless the Indians drink brandy which is unfortunately sometimes brought from Macas. The Indians themselves are aware of the danger and therefore try to keep watch over and control one another at the feasts, the women particularly playing the role of mediators when quarrels arise. As soon as the drink rose to a youth's head so strongly that he threatened to become a danger to his fellows, he was at once deprived of his weapons, from which the

warriors in normal cases never part, not even in a house.

Nevertheless a white man, visiting the savage Jibaros on an occasion like this, has to be extremely careful in dealing with the Indians. This is best shown by the following incident which took place at the end of the feast, and which could easily have led to most serious consequences. One of the ceremonies at the great victory feast, as we shall see later on, is the slaughter of the swine and the hens, which takes place the day before the feast ends. In the evening the hosts and hostesses were engaged [63] in cooking the meat in big clay pots placed on different fires all round on the earthen floor. I saw an Indian moving a boiling clay pot to adjust it--when suddenly he fell backwards, shouting loudly, with the pot, which was broken and poured out a part of its hot contents upon him, whereupon he dropped down on the floor and remained lying in convulsions with the mouth open. There arose a terrible hubbub and excitement. All at first thought that he had only been burned, and so I believed myself also, although the symptoms seemed to me strange. My first intention was to give the Indian what help I could, but I was warned by my more experienced companions not to do anything. They told me, what aferwards I really found to be true, that if among the Jibaros someone undertakes to cure a patient, and the latter nevertheless dies, the physician will unfailingly be made responsible for the death, the law of blood-revenge being applied to him. Such is the logic of these Indians. In any case the cause of the accident had to be cleared up,

and it was characteristic of the Indian train of thought that the worst consequences were anticipated. 'He will die, he will die', one of the women exclaimed in a heart-piercing voice. 'Why has he burned himself, why must he die', were questions which arose from all sides, and these strange questions were particularly addressed to me. Soon the questions became indirect or direct accusations. 'Why must he die'?, the host of the house asked vehemently, turning towards me.--'He has only burned himself', I answered, 'he will not die but recover.'--'No, the Indian replied, 'he has not burned himself, it was something else; what was it that flew into him in the same moment as he fell?' I began to realize the danger of the situation and my interpreter who fully understood the language of the Indians realized it still better. The Indians looked upon me as a powerful strange medicine-man and it was clear that they believed that I had bewitched their comrade. I saw them assembled in groups and conversing in commotion, now and then pointing at me and my companions and looking at us with threatening looks and gestures. Of course, I was the person against whom their wrath would turn in the first place. Several circumstances arousing suspicion were moreover mentioned to my interpreter. Thus the Indian who had been the first to tell me about the feast had shortly afterwards fallen ill with a fever so that he had not been able to be present at the feast at all.

Probably the white man had brought the sickness with him. Another Indian who had engaged to carry a part of my luggage on my return, had afterwards accidentally cut himself in the foot, causing a gaping wound, and so forth. [64]

The situation was not enviable. I was almost alone far away in the virgin forest, in the midst of fifty or sixty savage Indians, all professional murderers so to speak, all more or less drunk and excited, all well armed even with firearms, Indians whose brutality and revengeful spirit when witchcraft is in question I knew sufficiently well. The principal thing in such a situation is to remain perfectly calm and show no fear. I did not even look at my own gun and rifle which were standing in a corner of the house, and I pretended not to understand the accusations of the Indians at all, making light of the incident and declaring that the Indian would soon recover. It was lucky that my companions behaved in the same way and that my interpreter proved so clever in Indian 'diplomacy' as he did. Still I understood that my own fate very probably depended on the fate of the sick Indian. He had been carried to a corner of the house where he had ultimately fallen asleep. The Indians seemed gradually to become calmer and at last even began to dance. As for myself, it was many hours before I could compose myself to sleep, since of course it was uncertain what turn the illness of the Indian would take. The following morning, however, the condition of the patient was much better; he had recovered consciousness and the power of speech and was himself able to give an

explanation of the accident. His burns were insignificant, but he had evidently had a heart attack and had fallen in consequence. Of course, even this attack, according to the Indians' way of reasoning, had some mysterious cause; but the fact that the man did not die but recovered made the incident lose its importance, and it was quite probable that this happy issue saved my own life. It is impossible to describe the terrible excitement which an ordinary death, and particularly a sudden, unexpected death, causes among these savages, who regard practically every death as being a murder.

The cause of the heart attack to which the Indian very nearly fell a victim must no doubt be sought in the fact that the Indians at their feasts consume tremendous quantities of tobacco water, which is very likely to affect the health of persons suffering from a weak heart.

Experiences of this kind however made me long to get away from the house and the noisy feast as soon as possible. Happily it was to be concluded on the following day, and having witnessed the last ceremony, the 'Dressing of the victor', and the final ceremonial drinking-bout I took leave of my host and his family to continue my journey to the upper Pastaza. Shakaëma was now quite friendly again and behaved as [65] if he had wholly forgotten the incident, which the day before had made him look upon me as an evil witch-doctor and almost as an enemy.

Two other incidents during the feast, which in their way illustrate the suspiciousness of the Jibaro Indians and their warlike character, may be mentioned. One day an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guests, arrived in the house quite excited and related that in the morning she had found mysterious footprints in the vicinity of the family's house. It was supposed that these footprints were those of enemy Jibaros who wished to find out the state of things in the house, for the purpose of making an attack against it later on. The owner of the house at once went home with his wife to take defensive measures.

A few days later some Indians brought other news which aroused still more sensation. A Jibaro Indian from the same district had been attacked the day before in his home by one of his enemies who wished to take blood-revenge on him. A fight had ensued, which had ended in both Indians being left dead on the spot. The question now arose whether the relatives of the Indian attacked should take revenge upon the nearest relatives of the attacking Indian. The indignation of the Indians was great, and it was decided that the blood-feud should be continued. On my return journey I heard of this incident, and the way in which the new blood-revenge should be carried out was the general subject of conversation in every house I visited.

Having finished my studies of the head-feast on the Rio Chiguaza, I did not immediately return to Macas, but continued my journey towards the north, my plan being,

first to pay a visit to Canelos, and then to return to civilization for some time via Ambato. To reach Canelos I had first to pass through Arapicos, the small Jibaro village on the river of the same name, thereupon to ascend the small river Pindu, and lastly to continue on foot through the forests for about three days more. My journey, for different reasons, became extremely trying. It had been raining for a couple of days, and the ground through which we had to walk had become like a marsh and the rivers had swollen. There were two rivers that we had to cross to get to Arapicos, a branch of the Chiguaza and the Arapicos itself. The former is not very broad but extremely rapid and can only be crossed by wading. If the water has considerably risen owing to heavy rain, the stream cannot be crossed, or only with great danger. When we arrived at the river, the Indians declared, as I had indeed feared, that it was impossible to cross it then and that we must wait on the bank until the following day. This statement by [66] no means pleased me, especially since we were in danger of running short of food, which could not be obtained in these uninhabited regions. Happily the water seemd [sic] to be sinking, and on the following morning we were able to cross the stream, although with great difficulty. The same day in the afternoon we reached the river Arapicos, and within an hour had crossed over to the other side where the village is situated.

At Arapicos I met one of the Catholic missionaries in the Ecuadorian Oriente, Father

Agustín de Leon, whose acquaintance I had made before at Canelos. In his company I undertook an interesting expedition to a big cave situated on the right bank of the Pastaza about one day's journey from Arapicos. The cave is known among the Indians as the tayu-cave, after the bird which inhabits it. This is the guacharo or oil-bird (Steatornis caripensis), called tayu by the Jibaros. Father Leon and I decided to make an excursion to this cave, which had scarcely been visited by any white man before. The whole region, that is to say, the big corner bounded by the Arapicos in the north and the right bank of the Pastaza, is geographically very little known. The only human beings who are in the habit of visiting the tayu-cave regularly are the Jibaro Indians of the district. Their great attraction is the tayu-bird which they appreciate extremely both on account of its meat, which they eat, its oil which they likewise find very useful, and especially its leg-bones from which they prepare the most costly ornament they wear at their feasts, the so-called tayukunchi, to be described later on. Our guides were partly Indians from the mission of Arapicos, partly savage Jibaro Indians from the other side of the river.

The tayu-cave really turned out to be of considerable interest. There are three caves in this tract at some distance from each other, and we decided to penetrate the biggest of them which nevertheless was the one approached with the greatest difficulty. Its entrance was wide, but its position was such that it could not easily be photographed.

The cave appeared to consist of different compartments, of which the first one formed a kind of 'hall', as large as a small room. Even here we encountered some of the winged inhabitants of this gloomy place, the guacharo birds which, frightened from their nests and screaming loudly, flew about our heads. It was not, however, until we had penetrated further that it became clear to me what enormous numbers of this bird the cave sheltered.

From the 'hall' mentioned a narrow entrance, through which one had to crawl on all fours, led to the interior of the cave, which here [67] branched off in all directions into the mountain. The danger of going astray in this subterranean labyrinth was great, but we could rely upon the Indians, who were not visiting the cave for the first time. On entering it they had at once kindled their copal torches, by the light of which we cautiously went forwards, following the main branch. The farther we penetrated, the louder became the screaming of the owl-like birds which lived in the cave, and whose number seemed to be constantly increasing. The nests of the birds were high up on the shelves formed by the rocks, in funnel-like holes, and turned out to contain enormous numbers of young. The Indians often climbed up and caught them, putting them quickly in baskets which they had brought for this very purpose. I myself had brought my gun which I fired twice, killing some of the flying birds. The Indians however would not allow me to continue this, fearing lest the walls of the cave should burst in consequence

of the dreadful detonation and perhaps also believing that the mysterious spirits of this subterranean dwelling would get angry and punish us. Our stay in the cave lasted for about one hour. We did not go as far as was possible and as far as the Indians have sometimes penetrated the interior when going alone. Taking a considerable number of full-grown birds which had been killed, and a still greater number of young, partly dead, partly living, we again tried to find our way out into the daylight.

How far the cave extends into the interior of the mountain is unknown, since no one has dared to explore it thoroughly. Father Leon and I only penetrated about thirty or forty meters into it. The river Pastaza, which flows at a short distance from the mountain where the cave is situated and the waters of which still at times rise to its level, has of course had a share in its formation. The thorough exploration of the cave would be a most dangerous undertaking owing to its many ramifications. Besides the savage Indians, there is another creature which is in the habit of regularly visiting the tayu-cave, namely, the jaguar. Being a skilful climber, this beast can easily reach the nests of the guacharo birds, although they are situated high up on the rocky shelves, giving himself a nice feast on the young. The Indians who followed us on this trip told us that the last time they visited the cave they had heard the grunting of the jaguar from the interior and had hastily retired.

The guacharo bird was discovered by Alexander v. Humboldt more than a hundred

years ago in the Caripe cave in Venezuela, but is known to exist in a few other places, e.g. in the north-west of South America. In Ecuador, as far as I know, the tayu-caves on the Pastaza are the only [68] localities where it exists, so it is a comparatively rare bird. Its mode of life--the guacharo of course is a night-bird--and the gloomy places where it dwells make the Indians look upon it with superstition, which however does not prevent them from eating it. It is supposed to be an incarnation of the souls of the dead, a superstition which also accounts for the mysterious power which its fat and its bones are believed to contain.

Having returned to Arapicos, I stayed there a few more days for the purpose of making studies among the Indians, whereupon I continued my journey to the upper Pastaza, to the point where the small river Pindu empties its waters into it. Pastaza in this region is a broad and very powerful river, forming numerous cataracts and, as I have stated before, does not become navigable until it has received its northern affluent the Bobonaza. The savage Jibaro Indians, extremely skilled as they are in managing canoes, are the only ones who use the waterway when they visit one another or--as has happened very frequently--make hostile attacks on other tribes. Between the Pindu and the Bobonaza there is a third small affluent of the Pastaza from the north, the river Copataza. Here there lived a Jibaro tribe with whom the Chirapas

had been at war a couple of years before I arrived. The Chirapas had succeeded in bringing home a head--and it was this head that had given rise to the victory-feast at which I had just been present.

From Arapicos to the Pastaza it is a march of one day and a half through the virgin forest. This region is wholly uninhabited, and consequently unusually rich in game. Wild pigs, deer, monkeys, and all sorts of birds, especially the wild turkey and the curious trumpeter bird (Psophia crepitans) are frequently seen and can easily be shot. Even the jaguar is common, as one may judge from the numerous tracks encountered. The first night I had, as usual, to spend in the middle of the forest in a primitive shelter made of palm leaves. In the morning my Indians found that a big jaguar had during the night beaten about our camp, without however daring to attack us. The jaguar in fact avoids man and is therefore seldom seen, although quite common in Eastern Ecuador.

We arrived at the Pastaza at the spot where it receives the small affluent Pindu from the north. Then we crossed the former in a canoe which my Indians had ready for the purpose and started to ascend the Pindu. This river, although carrying comparatively little water, is very rapid and not navigable in the strict sense of the word. To take the canoe up the many cataracts, the Indians have continually to get into [69] the water and pull it over the stones; in fact, they work as much in the water as in the

canoe. When the river is running high, which is frequently the case owing to the heavy rains, it cannot be ascended at all. Twice during my journeys from Macas to Canelos I have been delayed on the bank of the Pindu, waiting for the water to go down. The worst place to pass is a cataract called Guineo Sass by the Canelos Indians. Here the canoe has to be pulled up a rock where the water is rushing out with extraordinary force between two other big stones. On the journey I am describing I had a narrow escape from shipwreck in this cataract. I myself had been carried to the shore from where I watched the attempts of the Indians to take the canoe up the violent cataract. Two of them placed themselves above the cataract pulling the canoe by a big liana tied to the front of it, while two more Indians were pushing it from the stern, standing in the rushing water up to the waist. With great difficulty they succeeded in pulling the canoe a few feet up the rock--when suddenly the liana burst and the canoe, which the two Indians at the stern were not able to hold, began to slide down the cataract owing to the pressure of the mass of water. In a moment it was half-filled and was in immediate danger of upsetting, in which case I should have lost all my luggage, among other things all my valuable notes and photographs. My Indians however saved the situation by throwing themselves immediately into the eddy, when they succceeded in keeping the canoe on an even keel until they had pulled it to the shore. Here it was emptied of its water and a new and more successful attempt was made to take it up the

cataract. The only thing I lost through this accident was a basket with living hens which I had brought from Arapicos. When the stern of the canoe where the basket had been placed filled with water the torrent carried it away, and it was not possible for the Indians to save the hens.

The Guineo Sass has a bad reputation among those Indians and mestizos who use this water route. Some months before I made this journey one of the Fathers from the mission of Canelos had tried to descend the Pindu on his way to Arapicos. The canoe had been upset in the cataract, and the Father had lost all his luggage, saving his life only by swimming to the shore.

Having ascended the Pindu for about one day and a half we arrived at a point where there is an Indian trail direct to the villages Puyu and Canelos. I thus had to continue my journey overland and expected to reach Canelos in two days. This time, however, it took me three days [70] to get there, owing to an unforeseen accident. During my stay in the Indian house at the Chiguaza sand-flies had bitten one of my toes which became inflamed and rendered walking very difficult, and at last almost impossible. These tiny insects, almost invisible to the naked eye, are very common in the houses of the Indians and are a great annoyance to a white visitor, indeed to the Indians also. Boring into the skin, preferably under the nail, they cause an infection in a few days which, unless the insect is at once cautiously removed with a needle, may become

dangerous, especially owing to the difficulty of keeping the little wound clean while marching. My swollen and aching toe caused me great suffering during this march, being, as I was, unable to attend to it and obliged to walk wet from morning till evening. Some distances my Indians tried to carry me on a sort of litter, but since they had to carry my luggage also, this way of marching proved impossible for any length of time. Besides this, during our march through the forest we were surprised by one of the heaviest downpours I have witnessed in Eastern Ecuador, which lasted for three hours. In an extremely miserable condition I arrived at Canelos, although, on the other hand, I had no reason to be discontented with the results of my long expedition. It was eight days before I had recovered sufficiently to be able to start on my final return journey to Ambato and civilization. I arrived there in the beginning of 1918."

1: Karsten--429-430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789, 796 (1928-29)

"Rites for magically influencing nature.

Under this category fall a great number of the rites and ceremonies which are performed at the great feasts and the aim of which seems to be to exert a mysterious influence upon nature itself, apparently without the intervention of any personal spiritual agents. The five great feasts of the Jibaros, as has appeared from my previous statements, are the 'feast of the children' (Uchiáuka), the 'feast of the young men (Kusúpani), the 'feast of the women' (Noa tsangu), the 'victory-feast' (Einsupani), and the 'feast of the dogs' (Yawápani). The particular idea which I wish to point out here appears very clearly in all these feasts, except the 'feast of the children', the principal object of which seems to be to impart strength to the young child. On the other hand, in the Kusúpani feast the object of the tobacco smoking ceremonies is not only to give the young man power of resisting evil spirits; besides this, there is the idea that the power of the tobacco--more strictly speaking, the power of the tobacco spirit--will be directly transferred to those departments of nature within which a full-grown man is active. This idea appears still more clearly with reference to the 'tobacco feast' and the great victory-feast: fertility of the fields and a rich harvest, the increase of the domestic animals, abundance of game, success in warfare, hunting, fishing and all domestic work will be the immediate consequence of these feasts if the rites prescribed by custom are performed in the right way. Similarly in the Yawápani feast the power inherent

in the [430] kungúna plant and other 'medicines' will, both through the dog and through his master, be automatically reflected upon the corresponding department of nature, giving as a result an abundance of game and luck in hunting.

It is difficult exactly to make out the primitive Indian view upon which all these rites are based. The only thing that can be said is that they assume an essential similarity or a mysterious connection between man and inanimate nature, which in its turn is based on the belief that in both, at bottom, the same spiritual life is active and therefore can be transferred from the human world to natural objects."

1: Karsten--430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 796 (1928-29)

"From my previous statements it has appeared the Jibaros have a good many religious practices which have for their object to ward off the evil spirits, the iguánchi and wakani, to frighten them away and intimidate them. Thus they try to expel the demons which cause thunder and lightning, and who are regarded as the spirits of their dead enemies, by brandishing their lances aganst [sic] the sky and challenging them.(1) The great victory-feast is full of such rites. The spirit of the slain enemy who is trying to harm the victor in every way is kept at bay by the beating of shields (the ceremony Yáktinyu), by firing into the air, by shouting and yelling, by beating drums and playing on flutes and, last but not least, by dancing. The dance Hantsemáta especially is interesting on this point since it is a typical conjuration, its great aim being to mortify the soul of the killed enemy and to control it. But the other Jibaro dances too are all of a ceremonial character, although there are different ideas underlying them."

"1. See supra, p. 381."

3: Simson--388 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 796, 276, 852

"Amongst the Gualaquiza Jívaros, whom I had no opportunity of visiting, however, great festivities are held when a child is, at three or four years of age, initiated into the art and mysteries of smoking.* All the family is gathered together; and the eldest member then makes an oration in which he especially dwells upon the valour and glorious example to be witnessed in the lives of the child's ancestors and actual grown-up relations, the number of enemies they have slain, and so forth. The hope is then expressed that the representative of the new generation in the family may follow these meritorious footsteps, and after the manner of his forefathers prove himself a brave warrior. The address delivered, the pipe is then handed to the poor little fellow; and after he has taken a few whiffs, all the elders puff seriously in turn, and then wind up the proceedings by disporting themselves in chicha drinking, in celebration of the momentous event."

"*"This strange and interesting custom was related to me by my friend, the Rev. Padre Pozzi, who resided as a missionary amongst these Indians for some years."

13: Rivet--241-242 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 793, 796

The Jíbaro all have a series of ceremonies which are as yet little known, but the character of which is almost always clearly religious. They are all regulated by personages incorrectly called priests by the missionaries. To my knowledge there is no individual in Jíbaro society who corresponds to the role of priest in ours. I have already said that the savage communicates directly with the iguanchi. The so-called priest is an old man who, because of his great [242] experience, is very well acquainted with the traditions and customs of his ancestors, and whose role is limited to giving the concoction of tobacco to be drunk, to direct the singing, dancing and details of the ceremonies, and to distribute the food among the participants. This function is by no means the privilege of certain families, and does not give a special rank to those who exercise it. In exchange for his good services, the old man simply receives from the one who pays the expenses of the feast a triple ration of food, a dog, an itipi, a blowgun, and sometimes even an ax. An old woman called Ujaja plays an analogous role with regard to the women(1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 25.

13: Rivet--242 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796

The principal ceremonies are the marriage feast, which I have already described, and those of the women, of tobacco, and of the tsantsas.

13: Rivet--242[2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 585, 796

The women's feast takes place when the manioc or bananas planted by the newly-married couple are ripe. It is to make the new wife industrious and zealous. The old man opens the ceremony by preparing the chicha according to the accustomed manner before the young wife, while giving her many bits of advice: "It is thus that you should serve your husband; never permit him to be thirsty; you will give it to him to drink even if he does not ask you for it, etc." Then begins the drinking and the dance which lasts three days.

The tobacco feast, so called because of the great quantity of the tobacco concoction which is consumed, is to ensure the fertility of the fields, the fattening and fecundity of the hogs. It is more solemn than the preceding ceremony, is attended by more guests, and requires a greater quantity of food and drink. It usually lasts three days, but the guests may stay as long as the food and drink hold out. Under the pretext of helping in the preparations of the feast, certain less scrupulous friends even come to stay with the one who is paying the expenses ten days before the celebration.

Each morning, at three o'clock, a curious dialogue which last three long hours is carried on between the director of the [KS: tobacco] ceremonies and his host. The latter expounds all his grievances at length: "I have no hogs, my children are hungry, I am very poor, what shall I do?" to which the old man answers: "Perform the ceremony well and you will see: so and so was more miserable than you, and after he celebrated the tobacco feast, you see, he has so many cultivated fields, [243] so many hogs and other riches (here an interminable list)" (1).

Simson, according to Father Pozzi, reports that in Gualaquiza a ceremony takes place when a child of three or four years of age is initiated into the art of smoking. All the family being gathered together, the oldest member present makes a long discourse in

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 52-53.

which he praises the courage of his ancestors and some members of the tribe, enumerates the number of enemies killed and expresses the hope that the representative of the new generation will imitate these noble examples. Finally, he puts a pipe into the hands of the young novice and after he has drawn on it a few times, all the assistants smoke gravely around him and begin to drink in order to celebrate the great event (2). This account is in complete opposition to my findings, according to which the Jíbaros are not aware of the use of the pipe, and even Simson himself reports that an Indian from Canelos wished to try his pipe and was made as uncomfortable as a high-school boy at his first attempts.

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2. Simson, op. cit., pages 388 and 393.

13: Rivet--243-244 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 247, 535

There is also in Gualaquiza a flower feast, in which the Indians dance around one of the house-posts (on the men's side) ornamented with foliage; and Father Pozzi mentioned a feast, also with dancing, on the day when an Indian puts on for the first time the girdle made of the hair of enemies killed by his own hand (1).

These celebrations are extraordinarily noisy; the assistants shout and sing at the top of their voices, the frightened dogs bark, the tunduli resounds continuously, the sound of the drums, the flutes and the trumpets mingle in a cacophony unbearable to the ear of a European. The dance does not stop an instant; fatigued dancers are immediately replaced by others. The dance, according to an Ecuadorian who has been present at the feast of the flowers in Gualaquiza, consists of the following: sometimes men and women holding hands form around the decorated post a big circle which increases or decreases according to the rhythm of the music; sometimes a couple detaches itself and dances, but without interweaving: the man takes three steps forward and three back, while the woman facing him jumps up and down [244] with her feet together, jingling? rattling the maco which she wears on the shin. These chorographic motions are completely devoid of grace. This description proves that among the tribes of Gualaquiza, contrary to the rule, the two sexes take part in dancing. At Macas, I have already said that this happens only in the marriage ceremony.

1. Luigi Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell'Equatore. Bolletino della Societa geografica italiana. Rome, 15 vol., 1878, p. 97-102.

All the feasts that I have just described are of very little importance compared to the one of which I am now going to speak: the feast of the tsantsas or tsantsa-tucui (1). After a warrior has killed one of his enemies, he knows that he ought to prepare to celebrate the killing: if he does not, a thousand misfortunes will come upon him, his seeds will not sprout, his animals will not prosper, his family and he himself will die, and the annoyed soul of the dead person will not allow him any rest until he has performed the traditional ceremonies. As soon as he returns from the war expedition, the Jíbaro celebrates first with neighbors and friends the feast called de entrada, in which the old man presiding at these performances gives him the concoction of tobacco to drink. This ceremony is naturally the occasion for a drinking feast of several days. After this, the possessor of the tsantsa undergoes a rigorous fast (2), that is to say, he abstains from all game killed by arrows, from certain birds and special animals; he is only permitted to eat fish, manioc, bananas without condiments, and certain small birds killed with the blowgun. He paints his body with black lines and on his face wears a streak of the same color which goes from one ear to the other, passing above the

1. Ordinaire. Les sauvages du Perou, op. cit., page 318.

2. The religious fast is a practice found among a great many Amazonian tribes, particularly the Purus.--De Santa-Anna Nery. Le Pays des Amazones: L'El-Dorado. Les terres a caoutchouc. Paris, 2nd ed., 1899, page 377.

upper lip. He travels without his lance, a particularly painful sacrifice for a savage always exposed to an attack (3). Also, he stops all sexual intercourse (4).

This special mortification, which is not peculiar to the feast of the tsantsas, is considered by the savage as the most sure means of obtaining what he wishes: the father, who wishes that his son be vigorous and healthy, fasts until seeing him robust and well developed; he who wishes that his dog will become a good hunter fasts too (5) [245]

With the greatest fidelity the Jíbaros observe this difficult abstinence, which lasts from many months to two years, that is to say, all the time necessary for the preparation of the feast; certain famous chiefs take seven or even ten years (6).

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 56.
4. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, p. 215.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., p. 116.
6. ibid, p. 119.

13: Rivet--245-246 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796

These preparations [KS: for the tsantsa feast] consist in planting two or more fields of manioc and bananas; the clearing, the preparation of the land, and the sowing demand at least a year; then it is necessary to wait for the harvesting, to make an enormous quantity of chicha (about 300 jars), to organize big hunting parties and big fishing trips in order to obtain [246] plenty of food for the numerous guests (1). I have already said that game is preserved wrapped up in certain leaves which keep it from spoiling, and that the fish is smoked. The expense of this feast is so great that often a number of Jívaros arrange to celebrate it together.

The day of the ceremony finally having arrived, the relatives and friends invited in advance arrive from all sections, sometimes from places ten days distant. All bring their best costumes and ornaments.

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 116.

13: Rivet--246-248 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-I
116, 796, 727

At Gualaquiza, the ritual is as follows(1): The old man directing the ceremonies seats himself in the middle of the house, and the Jíbaro enters armed with his lance, carrying the tsantsa in his left hand. The old man stands up, takes the head and plunges it successively into a decoction of tobacco, into a jar of chicha, and then into pure water; then he makes the hero of the day sit down and in turn presents him with these different liquids (fig. 24). This ceremony is for the purpose of "breaking the fast" and thanks to it, the man believes himself free of all obligation. He gets up, takes his trophy and suspends it from the principal house post, which is decorated with flowers, stuffed birds and numerous other trinkets. The old man then begins to talk, improvising a violent panegyric of the victor, whom he calls "a brave Jíbaro, skillful in avenging an injury", heaping the victim's tribe with invective, insulting him and ridiculing him: "Why," he says, "did you not watch? Why were you surprised? Why did you not rub your eyes with pimento in order to have keen sight?"(2) This harangue over, the men take each other by the hand and form a long chain in the interior of the house, and they dance, jumping and walking (fig. 25). In Macas, the women make a similar concentric

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1. Bulletin salesien, August 1896, page 175.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, page 216.

chain to that of the men; only the wife of the hero of the feast is admitted into the men's chain. Each time the latter dances, the old man detaches the tsantsa from the post and suspends it around his neck (3). Sometimes the dance takes place half [247] inside and half outside the house, the chain of dancers entering by one door and leaving by the other, always singing and shouting, and each individual making a kind of genuflection in passing before the trophy. (4).

Finally the old man distributes the bananas and the food among the merrymakers. The piningas of chicha are passed around. The dancing and drinking continue for six days in the midst of an infernal uproar. In fact, the Jíbaro has a very tractable stomach; when, under the influence of drinking, he finds himself somewhat ill, he leaves an instant, vomits, hurries to bathe himself, and returns with high spirits to the house in order to recommence drinking, shouting and dancing. During all the time that the feast lasts, the invited guests live at the expense of their host. Every morning, about 3 or four o'clock, each family receives a jar full of boiled chicha and a plate of fish.

3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, page 54.
4. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misioned dominicanas, op. cit., Fifth letter, page 49.

13: Rivet--246-248 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-3
116, 796, 727

In the middle of the night on the sixth day, ten very fat hogs (sometimes more) are killed; an excellent bouillon is prepared, of which each one takes his share at daybreak, then each guest [248] receives a big piece of uncooked meat from the old man, the last gift, which is the signal for departure. Everyone leaves that morning. (5).

5. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, page 55.

13: Rivet--248
116, 796, 727

(no date) 1908

Jívaro

Certain details of this feast seem to vary according to the tribes: in Macas, the old man does not wash the tsantsa but paints it black, and "breaks the fast" by putting into the mouth of the owner a piece of hog and making him drink the decoction of tobacco (1).

Barriero (2) and Lubbock (3) report that, in the same tribe, the possessor of the trophy, after having suspended it from a post above the tsantsas brought by the merrymakers, insults it vehemently; the old man answers in the name of the victim. At a given moment, the victor carried away by anger hits the mummy with his lance, then sews up its lips in order to condemn it to silence. I have not been able to obtain confirmation of this account from my informants; all have told me that the sewing up of the lips has no other purpose than to prevent the mouth from opening during the desiccation.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 54 and 56.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.
3. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--248 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796

According to Barriero, the conqueror suspends the head from a stick in the open air; his favorite wife, holding him by the belt, accompanies him in this procedure. This is the greatest honor which can be conferred on a Jíbaro woman. Behind her, all the men, holding onto each other in the same manner, form a long chain.

According to Reiss (1), the house in which the ceremony has been celebrated, especially built for this purpose, is immediately abandoned, as after a death.

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1. Reiss, op. cit., page 335.

13: Rivet--248-249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796, 778

The exact meaning of the feast of the tsantsas is difficult to determine. However, it seems that it may well be a kind of reparation toward the dead, that it has the meaning of an expiatory ceremony. In fact, the tsantsa thereupon becomes a veritable fetich which assures its possessor, his relatives and associates, an abundance of good things, the fertility of fields, the prosperity of the family and the tribe, victory over his enemies, and immortality (1). According to Barriero, it will serve equally well as an oracle, when it is interrogated by an individual [249] under the influence of natema; moreover, when the crop is not large or when the domestic animals are not prolific, the women have the so-called supplication feast, in which they dance singly, one holding on to the other, the old man carrying the idol; if the ceremony has no result, they cut off the hair of the mummy and throw it into the woods (2).

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 119.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

13: Rivet--249
116, 796, 727

(no date) 1908

Jívaro

Formerly the Jíbaros, after the celebration of the feast, suspend the trophies on posts along the roads, after having cut the hair, so that time will destroy them (1), or else preserve them in jars in order to decorate themselves in certain victory anniversary feasts (2), sometimes at the end of many years, they throw them into the rivers (3). They part with them with great reluctance, and Barriero tells how he had to use a ruse in order to obtain a specimen (4). At present, the tsantsas have become a real object of commerce for the tribes in contact with the whites.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre los misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 48.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.
3. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio sobre los Cañaris, op. cit., page 33.
4. Lettre published by Bollaert, op. cit., page 112.

(no date) 1908

Jívaro

The meaning of these trophies is thus rather complex. Among the Aguarunas, the possession of a tsantsa is indispensable to admission into the warrior class and the possession of wives (1). This requirement of initiation seems peculiar to this tribe. No where else does one find classes among the Jíbaros. However, according to Father Prieto, the Indians of Gualaquiza designate under the name Cocarama those among them who have distinguished themselves by the number of enemies killed (2). Perhaps there was then a true warrior class, as among the Aguarunas.

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1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 63.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.

28: Tessman--359 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 796

Karsten has pointed out on several occasions that all the Chiwaro festivals have a religious connotation. However, religion enters only to the extent that the natives wish for great fertility, the acquisition of earthly goods, and a long life. Karsten has given us descriptions of the various festivals in a number of publications. The kusúpani festival takes place when the adolescents are promoted to the rank of manhood. They hope to make the young man strong and belligerent. The so called "little tobacco festival" is given for young girls after they had had their first menstruation. The "great tobacco festival" (noa tsangu) is prepared for women; its purpose is to make the women fit and strong for their duties and work. The greatest festival is the festival of the head-trophy (tsantsa). A detailed description of it may be found in Karsten's Blood Revenge. There are no secret rites or ceremonies in an ethico-religious sense. They simply want to obtain the help of spirits, which means, personal advantages especially in their dealings with enemies. During the Guilelma fruit festival, which takes place in March-April, they wish to increase the fertility of nature. Rivet (L'Anthropologie, XIX, p. 79) gives reproductions that show how the lips of the mummified heads are tied.

28: Tessman--359 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 796

There are no other cultic rites. No masks. No secret cults. No sacred trumpets.

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[721] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
[784] Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[264] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in semeless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336/ A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jívaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Mallet

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

765
727
532
[796]

21. Three excellent examples of *tsantsa* (shrunken head trophies). The long cotton strings dangling from the mouths are put on only at the time of the third and last *tsantsa* feast (photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History).

/p. 138-F/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the *nuisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *nuisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the *nuisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *nuisak* cannot see out," thereby

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri šuarä* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitating him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumaí* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči nam-per*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

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796 825 [881] same function. Normally, however, the tree sloth trophy is made and used by teen-age boys for their first *tsantsa* feasts, which are only two in number and hosted by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

774 [826] The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *nekás wakanī*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

775 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 721 765 [727] [825] There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 701 727 554 624 [796] [342] A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untā* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*, or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 702 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight aperture which may remain.

A total of approximately six days of such intermittent preparation is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa* until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kumaí* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of chonta palm on the inside.

When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara. The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*mempey*) which is held at the newly built house of the *wea*.

The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *wea*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

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When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these two celebrations, named *suamak,* normally takes place no sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting. Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration. The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk to those invited guests living at some distance so that they, too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a month later, by the third feast (*napiŋ*). This is the largest of all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the

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574 765 796 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]

[353] [301] [535] [439] [764]

796 571 554 765 The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*wainči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

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578
765 *tsantsa*, for increasing the power of women who are members
of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is
• 796 immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by
[774] the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been
[778] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowl-
[554] edge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, al-
[624] though less common, are similarly halted by the women, led
[562] by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a
basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual,
765 and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the
796 safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to
727 the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa*
feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of
[619] their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of kill-
[571] ing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration,
[181] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a
[533] common enemy. The intimate interaction between the eupho-
[535] ria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered
[539] enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Ċuwi[5] tells me
Ċuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Ċuwi tells me
Ċuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Ċuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

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178 721 441 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose participants and their relatives have a vested interest in the maintenance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jívaro.

178 411 726 [342] [712] [714] Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 342 411 712 726 Changes in house construction during the past few decades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of firearms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

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digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has